



**University of
Zurich**^{UZH}

**Zurich Open Repository and
Archive**

University of Zurich
University Library
Strickhofstrasse 39
CH-8057 Zurich
www.zora.uzh.ch

Year: 2010

Identification with a woman? The hannah figure in the babylonian talmud

Plietzsch, Susanne

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110222043.3.215>

Posted at the Zurich Open Repository and Archive, University of Zurich

ZORA URL: <https://doi.org/10.5167/uzh-45759>

Book Section

Published Version

Originally published at:

Plietzsch, Susanne (2010). Identification with a woman? The hannah figure in the babylonian talmud. In: Xeravits, Géza G; Dušek, Jan. The stranger in ancient and mediaeval Jewish tradition. Papers read at the first Meeting of the JBSCE, Piliscsaba, 2009. Berlin: De Gruyter, 215-227.

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110222043.3.215>

Identification with a Woman? The Hannah Figure in the Babylonian Talmud (Berakhot 31a-32b)

SUSANNE PLIETZSCH

At the synagogue service of the first day of Rosh Hashana two Biblical readings are concerned with birth. The Torah reading of Genesis 21 contains the birth of Isaac, the son of Sarah and Abraham. The first two chapters of 1 Samuel are the Haftara (reading from the prophets) of the day. They tell us the story about the childless Hannah who finally gave birth to Samuel. Since Rosh Hashana is, according to the rabbinic tradition, not only the beginning of the year but also the beginning of creation, the liturgical connection between both birth stories implies an analogy between the birth of Isaac and Samuel and the creation of the world.

The strong presence of both pregnancy and birth in the Rosh Hashana service is impressive. The world as such appears as born by a mother as Isaac and Samuel are. Thus, the question arises how this strong liturgical “matriarchy” can be interpreted, and how does it fit into the patriarchal structures of rabbinic Judaism? Within the Jewish discourse (and within the Christian as well) feminist theologians are sometimes silenced by the high esteem of women, corporality, and sexuality in Rabbinic thinking (which is always taken for granted). The forcefulness of the argument is often used in order to disapprove cultural and theological analysis of women’s discrimination in antiquity and today.¹ Which role do the matriarchal motifs play within the frame of male rabbinic literature and practice? Are those motifs integrated and controlled, or do they fulfil a certain function of resistance?

In this paper I will deal with the Talmudic perception of the Biblical Hannah figure which is a powerful and straightforward hero who—paradoxically—is transgressing the boundaries imposed on women in order to fully fulfil a woman’s role. In Tractate Berakhot, she is pre-

¹ Cf. KAUFMAN, *The Woman in Jewish Law and Tradition*, xxi-xxxiii.

sented as a paradigm for liturgical prayer. The literary structure of this passage reflects a strong bodily, emotional, and unconventional impact.

1. Male and Female Heroes

The literary scholar Jill Ker Conway has shown that completely different patterns for male and female heroes have ruled from Antiquity to modern Western literatures. Conway describes those patterns as follows:

If we study the history of autobiography in Western Europe and the white settler societies that are its offshoots, it soon becomes apparent that there are archetypal life scripts for men and women which show remarkable persistence over time. For men, the overarching pattern for life comes from adaptations of the story of the epic hero in classical antiquity. Life is an odyssey, a journey through many trials and tests, which the hero must surmount alone through courage, endurance, cunning and moral strength. Eventually, unless the hero has displeased the gods through some profoundly shocking violations of taboos, he is vindicated by his successful passage through his journey of initiation and returns to claim his rightful place in the world of his birth. His achievement comes about through his own agency, and his successful rite of passage leaves him master of his fortunes, though, of course, still subject to the whims of the gods or the turning of the wheel of destiny.²

[...], women inherited a different tradition from classical antiquity and early Christianity than the one which shaped St. Augustine's consciousness. Classical antiquity provided only the myth of the Amazons for the image of female heroic action and saw the image of the physically powerful female as monstrous rather than admirable. The fabled Greek democracies revered by the post-Renaissance West did not count women as citizens and left them out of the political theory which was central for the Western ideal of democracy and citizenship. *Although the women of the Hebrew Scriptures gave ample evidence of the power to rule, and to bear witness, the Pauline influence on the Christian Scriptures gave early Christianity its fear of the senses and the injunction that women should keep silent in church.*³

Using the example of female autobiographers, Conway points to the inner conflict between an independent female biography on the one

² CONWAY, *When Memory Speaks*, 7. Conway shows, that Augustin's *Confessiones* take up this paradigm and present the motif of the hero's dangerous way as an "inner struggle."

³ Ibid., 11 (not original emphasis).

hand and the identification of a woman with her family on the other. Because this conflict is inescapable, she asks whether a female autobiography might be possible at all:

If the painter or writer is female, the mirror she holds up comes from a culture that assumes women's inferiority, a culture that has shaped modern women's inner consciousness through the internalized male gaze surveying the female as sex object. For the woman autobiographer the major question becomes how to see one's life whole when one has been taught to see it as expressed through family and bonds with others. [...] How can she construct the life history of someone other than a sex object whose story ends when soundly mated?⁴

We will have to examine whether these patterns apply also to the Babylonian Talmud. Without any doubt Hannah belongs to the "strong women" of the Hebrew Bible, and her story does not end but begins with her marriage. In 1Sam 2:21, the narrative closes with the statement that Hannah has bestowed a prophet on Israel.⁵ But likewise, her independent powerful commitment as a woman aims to affirm patriarchal kin structures. The question about the literary and theological function of this paradox will lead the further investigation.

Another well-known literary concept that might be usefully applied to analyze the passage can be summarized by the phrase "to think with." Here, certain situations, figures, or groups of figures are disposed in the text while the text itself is not really dealing with them.⁶ In fact, their presence does provide a basis for developing other topics or problems in an easier and indirect way. In ancient literature this paradigm was often applied to women which the authors were engaged "to think with."⁷

⁴ Ibid., 4.

⁵ In Tractate Megilla of the Babylonian Talmud (14a) Hannah herself is called a prophetess, because in her prayer (1Sam 2:10) she pronounces a messianic vision: *He will strengthen his king and exalt the power of his anointed one.*

⁶ According to Marjorie Garber this phrase goes back to Claude Lévi-Strauss, cf. GARBET, Good to think with, 13; Nancy Rabinowitz refers to Marcel Detienne and Nicole Loraux (RABINOWITZ, Women—Good to Think With?, 2).

⁷ Ibid.

2. "No, my Lord!" Hannah's vow as a paradigm of prayer

In the Babylonian Talmud (b.Ber 31a-32b), we find a passage interpreting the verses 1Sam 1:11.13-17.25-27. The passage bears midrashic character due to its structure which is build up according to the Biblical verses, though at large, b.Ber 31 et seq. is imbedded in the halakhic discourse and related to a Mishnah statement in m.Ber 5:1: "One should not stand up to say Tefillah save in a reverent frame of mind." In this passage a connection is drawn between the Biblical Hannah narrative and the rabbinic concept of liturgical prayer. The Rabbis point out that Hannah is arguing bluntly with God about her concerns, and that she is completely free of "female restraint." In this sense, Hannah's vow in b.Ber 31a delivers a certain interpretation of the rabbinic concept of prayer and becomes a paradigm for the practice of praying:⁸

R. Hamnuna said: How many most important laws can be learnt from these verses relating to Hannah!⁹

Now Hannah, she spoke in her heart: from this we learn that one who prays must direct his heart.

Only her lips moved: from this we learn that he who prays must frame the words distinctly with his lips.

But her voice could not be heard: from this, it is forbidden to raise one's voice in the Tefillah.

Therefore Eli thought she had been drunken (1Sam 1:13): from this, that a drunken person is forbidden to say the Tefillah.¹⁰

From a feminist point of view, the text starts with a significant impact: Without any hesitation the authors apply statements originally related to Hannah to a praying man! Intentionality, restrained articulation, and soberness are the very features of this type of praying. Therefore, the text appears as divided into two halves. Even if, according to rabbinic understanding, women are likewise obliged to daily prayer,¹¹ a woman as a paradigm of a person who prays in the public has to be regarded

⁸ Cf. b.Ber 29a. The passage deals with Hannah's prayer in 1Sam 2:1-10; the ninefold mention of God's name is understood as a reason for the nine benedictions of the Amidah on Rosh Hashana.

⁹ This refers to the verses 1Sam 1:11.13-17.

¹⁰ Translation of the Babylonian Talmud according to Soncino Talmud.

¹¹ The classical references are m.Ber 3:3 and b.Ber 20b; cf. the entry "Gebet" in: BEBE, Isha, 105-107.

as irregular. We have to ask why the authors have chosen the Hannah figure¹² in order to impart their understanding of prayer. One might assume that the Rabbis referred to Hannah's despair because of her involuntary childlessness, and therewith intended to show that the prayer (among other things) is about expressing feelings of helplessness and wishes "against reality." The Talmudic authors demonstrate the various aspects of this type of prayer by pointing to a female character and even more to the motif of the absence of pregnancy. Therefore, the male reader of the Talmud (the *mitpalel*) will not necessarily and cannot completely identify with the female protagonist of the Biblical text. In fact, the male recipients may define the very measure of identification by their own. The praying person as intended and addressed by the Talmud is male and will never be in Hannah's situation.

The following passage presents Hannah as a person challenging authority. The harsh denial in 1Sam 1:15 *lo adoni/no, my Lord!* is even strengthened here:

And Hannah answered and said, No, my lord. Ulla, or as some say R. Jose b. Hanina, said: She said to him: You are not my lord in this matter, nor does the holy spirit rest on you, that you suspect me of this thing.

Some say, she said to him: Aren't you Lord? Doesn't the Shechinah and the holy spirit be with you, and (how is it possible) you find me guilty and not innocent? Don't you know that I am a woman of sorrowful spirit: *I have drunk neither wine nor strong drink* (1Sam 1:15).

The Biblical words through which Hannah is introduced in this Talmudic passage constitute a statement of opposition. In the interpretation which follows, Hannah is said to have denied Eli the authority to judge about her: "You are not my Lord!" But immediately a diminished version of this address follows: Shall you, the Lord in a state of divine presence, not know that I am a woman of sorrowful spirit? Obviously the rabbinic authors did not want to leave alone the first confrontational address and added a second one which puts Hannah's strong and pugnacious qualities into perspective.

As mentioned at the outset, Hannah is designed—at least partially—in agreement with the ancient male protagonist concept. She has to prove herself in her own personal odyssey, and she breaks crucial taboos when she is confronting and challenging the priest. On the other hand, we have noticed the authors' problem with Hannah's high measure of autonomy. Further, the text discusses the subject of praying in

¹² Before the beginning of our passage b.Ber 31a the Text deals with Daniel and David.

extenso. The question has to be asked how Hannah's independence is related to family structures.

3. "Hannah spoke insolently toward Heaven" Lament and Protest

In b.Ber 31b, the Biblical words from 1Sam 1:11—*And she vowed a vow and said, O Lord of Zebaoth [Hosts]*—are interpreted as follows:

And she vowed a vow and said, O Lord of Zebaoth [Hosts]. Rabbi Eleazar said: From the day that God created His world there was no man called the Holy One, blessed be He, Zeboath [hosts] until Hannah came and called Him Zebaoth. Said Hannah before the Holy One, blessed be He: Sovereign of the Universe, of all the hosts and hosts that Thou hast created in Thy world, is it so hard in Thy eyes to give me one son?

A parable: To what is this matter like? To a king who made a feast for his servants, and a poor man came and stood by the door and said to them, Give me a bite, and no one took any notice of him, so he forced his way into the presence of the king and said to him: Your Majesty, out of all the feast which thou hast made, is it so hard in thine eyes to give me one bite?

Looking at the canonical sequence of the books of the Hebrew Bible, the phrase "YHWH Zebaot/Lord of Hosts" appears in 1Sam 1:3 for the first time and it is Hannah who addresses God in this way. While God by this is addressed as a sovereign about all creatures, the multiplicity of the "hosts" is associated with her longing for one single pregnancy. This short passage is full of despair. Hannah expresses her madness about having been cut off physically from a woman's "normal" way of life. At the same time her petition contains protest. The Talmud compares the situation to a beggar who enters the room of the king in order to demand bread. This behaviour is characterized as captivating and inappropriate at the same time by the Talmudists: the poetic fascination arises from the fact that the underprivileged person Hannah bridges the gap between herself and the highest authority without being afraid of rejection or punishment. And again, it is a woman's fate and experience that bears "with body and soul" a metaphor for prayer (tefilah). The matter of despair and protest is picked up in another Talmudic passage. In b.Ber 31b, the formula of 1Sam 1:13 is used to demonstrate how intensely Hannah expresses the feeling of her (alleged) senseless physical existence in front of God:

Now Hannah, she spoke in her heart (על לבה) (1Sam 1:13). R. Eleazar said in the name of R. Jose b. Zimra: "She spoke concerning her heart. She said before Him: Sovereign of the Universe, among all the things that Thou hast created in a woman, Thou hast not created one without a purpose, eyes to see, ears to hear, a nose to smell, a mouth to speak, hands to do work, legs to walk with, breasts to give suck. These breasts that Thou hast put on my heart, are they not to give suck? Give me a son, so that I may suckle with them!"

The argument of the passage begins with designating non sex-related parts of the body: eyes, ears, nose, mouth, hands, and feet. While these body parts are able to operate merely in case their function is assured, the mentioned function of a woman's breast requires pregnancy and birth. In the Talmudist's interpretation, Hannah (intentionally!) leaves out this crucial difference. Thus the authors make Hannah to bring forward an argument to her benefit but simultaneously they express that she has no striking point to enforce her claim.

In the following, the cited passage of b.Ber 31b gives another example for Hannah's attitude of desperate protest. Here, the female hero does not hesitate to endanger herself with ostentation. Hannah threatens God that she would "keep herself hidden" from her husband Elkanah in order to arouse the suspicion of adultery without committing it as a matter of fact. Hereby she intended that the ritual of the curse-causing water (Num 5) would be executed on her, i.e. in detail: The suspected adulteress has to drink both the dust of the temple which are to be dissolved in water, and the words of her curse which are to be written on and washed off from a scroll. If the adultery has not been committed the procedure will not do any harm to the woman concerned. Accordingly Num 5:28 says: *She shall be cleared and shall conceive seed*. This saying in our passage refers to the second half verse of 1Sam 1:11. The rabbinic sages are presenting a woman who dares the impossible:

If Thou wilt indeed look (אם ראה תראה). R. Eleazar said: Hannah said before the Holy One, blessed be He: Sovereign of the Universe, if Thou "wilt look" (ראה), it is well, but if not, "Thou wilt see (תראה)," that I will go and shut myself up with someone else in the knowledge of my husband Elkanah, and as I shall have been alone they will make me drink the water of the

suspected wife, and Thou canst not falsify Thy law, which says (Num 5:28): *She shall be cleared and shall conceive seed.*¹³

The phrase “she spoke insolently toward heaven” in b.Ber 31b-32a embodies the assertiveness and the intensity of Hannah’s prayer and refers to the Biblical *wa-titpalel al YHWH* (and she prayed *towards* God, *against* God) in 1Sam 1:10. Before the Talmudic passage deals with the success of Hannah’s protest, the example of Elijah is given in order to demonstrate that the prophet was even able to induce God to concede partial responsibility for the sin of Israel:

R. Eleazar also said: Hannah spoke insolently toward heaven, as it says, *And Hannah prayed unto the Lord* (1Sam 1:10). This teaches that she spoke insolently toward heaven. R. Eleazar also said: Elijah spoke insolently toward heaven, as it says, *For Thou didst turn their heart backwards* (1Kings 18:37). R. Samuel b. Isaac said: Whence do we know that the Holy One, blessed be He, gave Elijah right? Because it says, *And whom I have wronged* (Micah 4:6).¹⁴

Thus, the text refers implicitly to the motif that God (nearly) never speaks to a woman.¹⁵ In fact, we have to deduce from Elijah to Hannah. Only by doing so, we understand the author’s intent to show that the situation in which Hannah was brought by God, is unacceptable and unjustifiable. The authors pinpoint God’s lack of responsibility and duty in her case.

According to the concept of male and female protagonists which I have mentioned in the beginning, we have to take notice of Hannah’s unconventional and powerful acting which does not convey any kind of romantic femininity. Only one aspect paradoxically applies to her: fighting very independently and autonomously, Hannah struggles for being a fully accepted member of a patriarchal kin structure.¹⁶ She complains about her deficiency as a woman and actually considers to surrender herself to the degrading and dangerous procedure of the

¹³ The following discussion explains, that acting like this is not a “therapy” of female infertility (cf. y.Sota 3:4). Does that mean that women knew this element of the Hannah tradition?

¹⁴ The verse 1Kings 18:37 can be translated in different ways. Here it is understood, that God is called on to take responsibility for Israel’s idolatry, because he “turned their hearts backwards.” The short citation from Mica 4:6 is referred as God’s acceptance that he indeed “did wrong” to Israel.

¹⁵ BerR 20:6 is considered as a locus classicus for this aspect of rabbinic thinking; cf. also m.Avot 1:5.

¹⁶ Cf. Gen 38 and its rabbinic interpretation: BerR 85:1-14 and b.Sota 10b.

curse-causing water proof, and all this “only” for the purpose of assuring the male genealogy. The authors present a female hero who paradoxically is ready to trespass the conventional way as well as to risk her dignity—merely for being able to meet the standard role of a woman. The Talmud shows us a hero who does not hesitate to make use of controversial arguments and thereby to provoke an irreversible social rejection. The entire complex of conflicting intentions, requests, arguments, juridical means, and female self reflection leaves its mark on the rabbinic prayer concept.

4. “For *this* child I prayed” —no sacrifice of the firstborn

Further, the passage of b.Ber 31a-32b describes an episode which refers to the Biblical text only in an indirect way. What I mean is the narrative about the deadly threat of Hannah’s little son Samuel which comes from the temple priest Eli. Here, the rabbinic exegesis takes over the ancient motif of immolating the firstborn. The narrative introduces the verse 1Sam 1:27 but is also related to the end of 1Sam 1:11: *Then I will dedicate him to YHWH all the days of his life.*

For this child I prayed (1Sam 1:27). R. Eleazar said: Samuel was guilty of giving a decision in the presence of his teacher; for it says (1Sam 1:25): *And when the bullock was slain, the child was brought to Eli.* Because “the bullock was slain”, did they bring the child to Eli?¹⁷

What it means is this: Eli said to them: Call a priest and let him come and kill [the animal]. When Samuel saw them looking for a priest to kill it, he said to them, Why do you go looking for a priest to kill it? The shechitah may be performed by a layman! They brought him to Eli, who asked him, How do you know this? He replied: Is it written, “The priest shall kill”? It is written (Lev 1,5): *The priests shall present [the blood]*: the office of the priest begins with the receiving of the blood, which shows that shechitah may be performed by a layman.

He said to him: You have spoken very well, but all the same you are guilty of giving a decision in the presence of your teacher, and whoever gives a decision in the presence of his teacher is liable to the death penalty.

Thereupon Hannah came and cried before him (1 Sam 1:26): *I am the woman that stood by thee here* etc. He said to her: Let me punish him and I will pray to God and He will give thee a better one than this. She then said to him: *For this child I prayed.*

¹⁷ Here the inner connection of the two parts of the verse is discussed.

The whole passage transfers Hannah's resistant attitude to the little Samuel: He has to take over her legacy, i.e. to go on with challenging the priest's conventions. Samuel proves from the Torah that ritual slaughter might also be performed by a non-priest. This is quite a widespread phenomenon in rabbinic literature which often subordinates the temple ritual under Torah knowledge and the competence of logical reasoning. The Rabbis employ the figure of Samuel in order to strengthen the critical and prophetic aspect of the Biblical tradition against priestly privileges. The conflict between the hieratic and the Torah orientated rabbinic system is carried out in a very complex way. The sympathies of the authors (and the readers) are clearly granted to Samuel. However though, we are not confronted with a lopsided critique here. The Rabbis concede to Eli, the highest representative of the priesthood, to save his face. Thus, they demonstrate their ability to protect the structures of religious authority (well aware of their own need for such a protection). This is expressed by the phrase, "whoever gives a decision in the presence of his teacher is liable to the death penalty" which confirms the analysis of the Samuel passage. That way, the claim that Samuel has to die refers to his own argument: the animal offer which is found effective sacrificed by a lay person. Furthermore the whole setting functions as a reference to the Binding of Isaac (Gen 22). It is actually Hannah who—as a woman and (therefore) an outsider—can intervene into the process because from her position it is possible to call into question the political and theological conflict. Her competence in regard to social interaction and family relationships affords a new reading of 1Sam 1:27: *"For this child I prayed."*

One more time the poetic appeal comes about because the underprivileged, the outsider, the woman Hannah, dares to access to the system of authority, to question it, and finally to override the priestly arrangements in her case. But Hannah not only asks for an exceptional rule for her son, she even calls upon the Biblical verse for his life. By this the authors let her override the rabbinic gender concept, which holds Torah knowledge as a "male" competence. (Even if we have to notice that Hannah is not "citing" this verse like in a rabbinic discussion but primarily pronouncing it.) But at the same time she proves herself to be a true woman and mother, because her best interest is identical with her sons' concern, the life of Samuel.

As mentioned above the narrative takes up the motif of the "offering of the firstborn" and thus gives an indirect reference to Gen 22. Thus it provides with an implicit comparison of Hannah and Abraham. Like Hannah, Abraham for a long time had no offspring. (And like Elkana, Abraham had no children with his main wife but could prove

his fertility with another woman.) Both Isaac and Samuel were begotten by God's intervention, and both Abraham and Hannah didn't consider children as a personal property: Hannah gives her son Samuel to the sanctuary and Abraham is ready to offer Isaac. The attribution of gender roles in these sacrifice (or: non-sacrifice) stories is fascinating. It seems, as if Hannah, compared to Abraham, is acting in a more "civilized" way. Abraham, as much as he is afflicted because of God's command, has to be prevented from slaughtering his son by a direct address,¹⁸ but Hannah enforces her feelings and can prevail against the priest's authority. It has a positive impact that she as a woman stands outside the male system of sanctuary, of teaching, and learning. Again, this direct, "inappropriate," and risky access in the whole context functions as a metaphor of prayer.

5. Conclusion: Integration and Distance

In the Bible and even more in the Babylonian Talmud Hannah is presented as a physically and emotionally powerful heroine, who can overcome the experience of her own senselessness. She speaks, argues, and protests, and so effectuates a change of her situation. It can be assumed that the authors deal by means of her with a current concept of femininity. Hannah's entire aim is to build a kin structure—the desire for motherhood as the fulfilment of her task as an Israelite woman. But in the analyzed Talmudic passage Hannah is deliberately pictured in a paradox way, the authors "play" with her power, independency—and subordination. Hannah's radical way of acting can be seen as a struggle for her own personal legitimation. It is possible to discover in these Talmudic episodes under the surface of the established ancient connection of woman and motherhood a vivid expression of individuality and independency, far beyond a modern and romantic concept of motherhood and femininity.

The rabbis chose the metaphor of the childless woman to deal with liturgical prayer. They "think with" Hannah: Her example shows what it means to expose oneself unprotected with essential physical needs and wishes. But at the same time the gender of the protagonist makes it possible for the male audience to keep a certain distance. They themselves can decide to what extent they will identify with Hannah. Thus they can reflect upon situations of despair and loss of legitimation with much more possibilities of withdrawal. For the same reason Hannah's

¹⁸ Cf. BerR 56,7.

being a woman makes it more “convenient” to think about protest close to be considered inappropriate.

The awareness of Hannah’s “inappropriateness” always resonates in the background. With all high esteem of their protagonist sometimes the authors see themselves under pressure to put her in her place: her critical words to Eli could have been only a modest question and not a confrontation, and her desperate rebellion against God a Torah-based negotiation, and last but not least: God didn’t answer her directly. By this they show, how informal ways to the Highest Authority (a metaphor for prayer) can be unexpectedly successful—like the informal intervention of a woman.

The Hannah figure offers to both men and women an encounter with a hero, who doesn’t shy away in conflicts and risks everything for the ones she loves—or will love. This way of reading our Talmudic passage will work best when gender differences are no longer perceived as structures of power.

Bibliography

- BEBE, Pauline, *Isha—Frau und Judentum*, Enzyklopädie, Egling an der Paar, 2004.
- CONWAY, Jill Ker, *When memory speaks. Exploring the Art of Autobiography*, New York, 1998.
- GARBER, Marjorie, *Good to think with: Profession* 2008, 11-20.
- KAUFMAN, Michael, *The Woman in Jewish Law and Tradition*, Northvale 1995.
- RABINOWITZ, Nancy, *Women—Good to Think With?*, in: Skinner, Marilyn B. (ed.): *Gender and Diversity in Place. Proceedings of the Fourth Conference of Feminism and Classics*, May 27-30, 2004 (online at: <http://www.stoa.org/diotima/essays/fc04/>).